5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

Though Monckton reports (1921) a few large villages in the early post-contact period, it is only recently, in response to Australian pressure, that multi-clan villages, with populations ranging from 100 to 500, have become common. Most of the plantations found in the Northern district have been established by Australian ex-servicemen supported by government loans. A number of Orokaiva have been drawn to work on these plantations, others to jobs in Popondetta, others again to service with the police, the armed forces or employers outside the district. Such migration has substantially reduced the proportion of the male village population group.[2]

2. *Technology and Aesthetics*

We possess only the briefest description of Orokaiva industry (in Williams 1930). Although I did collect additional data, the traditional technology has been transformed to such an extent that my data must needs be fragmentary. The only axes and adzes now in use are made of steel; most of the various stone-made cutting tools described by Williams are no longer in use, being replaced by the ubiquitous bush knife wielded by young and old, male and female. One exception is worth noting, if only to emphasise an element of continuity: cockle shells are still used for the scraping of coconuts and for the shaping and decorating of pots. Most of the needles used by women are still made of flying fox bones (*poma*), even though a few needles have at times been obtained from the Mission. While files for sharpening tools are necessarily made of steel, rough leaves still serve as tools for scraping pots, smoothing down wood, etc. The same mixture in the use of basic tools is found in agriculture, hunting, and fishing: we still find the digging stick but also the axe; traditional hand nets and fishing spears (with steel tips), but also snorkels. For hunting, traditional devices have been almost entirely replaced by the shot gun. The old technology is still basically intact in those few industries which are directly related to ceremonial life: the making and decorating of loin cloths, feather headdresses, ceremonial weaponry, musical instruments such as drums. Certain other specifically feminine artifacts (mats, baskets, string bags) are still produced and in use, while much of the contemporary Orokaiva house-building technology is traditional, Fine wickerwork for ceremonial objects (armlets, spear decorations, etc.) is still made by some of the older men. Orokaiva women have almost stopped making pots, though this was an important industry in pre-contact times. While trade goods are used for everyday purposes, such pots as are still made serve as gifts to women at the time of marriage. They are kept for sentimental reasons, but we were able to see only very few.

An everyday Orokaiva meal consists of taro, often with a few vegetable condiments: coconut milk, cordyline tips, or edible pitpit,[3] or one of a number of herbs, sometimes of supposed medicinal value. Much care is devoted to the cooking of the taro and variety is provided partly by a choice from many varieties of taro growing in most gardens. In the dry season, any of a number of subsidiary foods (sweet potato, German taro, yam, banana, breadfruit and several others) may be added to make the taro stretch further. Meat or fish is eaten only rarely, usually on festive occasions. Foods like tea, sugar, bread and salt are also reserved for such occasions. Although several traditional methods of

353 *tapa* cloths, also worn on ceremonial occa-
[415] sions; often nowadays mother's best dress and father's best shorts and shirt are also kept in this box. Everyday tools—fishing spears, pig spear, bush knife, and axe—are stored between the floor joists under the floor platform. A
[302] bundle of dry firewood may be stored under the house in case of a prolonged spell of wet
[227] weather. The dwelling of each clan fishing-leader is easily recognized by the large seine net hung to dry under the eaves or rolled in a corner of the verandah.

342 The Yega build one other form of dwelling, a garden shelter (*dobo*) usually roughly constructed with leaf walls, frequently open at one end and often so low from floor to roof that a person cannot stand erect in it. A *dobo* is a temporary dwelling, built near the swidden in current use, and used by a man and his family for up to a week at a time while they are working in their gardens, which may be three or four miles from the village. The *dobo* is also used to shelter from rain or to take a siesta during shorter, one-day visits to the garden.

343 A *gaga* is simply a talking platform where
[46] men sit for a chat, a chew (of betelnut) or a
[614] smoke during siesta time, or after the day's work is done. There is usually at least one *gaga* for each clan in a village. The *gaga* per-
[621] forms an important social function for it is
[584] here that quarrels are settled, marriages arranged, and the everyday problems and business of the village discussed and finalised.

291 Everyday clothing is a pair of shorts and maybe a shirt or a singlet for boys and men, and a cotton dress or skirt for girls and women.
[289] The traditional body covering for both men
[171] and women was beaten out bark-cloth of the paper mulberry tree. This is used throughout the Pacific and is known as *tapa*. *Tapa* skirts and loin cloths are still worn on special occasions, such as weddings and New Year sing-sings, while many older people wear *tapa* to
323 church on Sundays. The Yega and their neigh-
[289] bours are expert tapa-makers but they did not have either the suitable clay or the art of pot-making. They used to trade their *tapa* for pots
439 from Ambasi, thirty miles to the north, and
[178] from Wanigela, 100 miles to the south. This trade has now declined because everybody can

[P11-A]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12-A]

628 Similar cooperation occurred in other specific tasks such as the organising of a dance at Saiho hospital, the marking off of ward boundaries, etc. The groups cooperating in this manner had no history of multi-village economic organisation; this was an innovation. There was, however, a long history of military alliances, kinship and friendship links and feasting relations between contiguous [124] villages. I collected the kindreds, up to two degrees removed, of 51 Sivepe informants, recording the birth place of each member. I found that the list of natal villages included 76 situated more than one mile from the site of New Sivepe, the great majority being situated in the area within a three mile radius. But strictly speaking, these were not consanguineal links between villages as the consanguineal networks of the various families differed considerably in location. Table 9 shows just how individual these networks were but it also shows that there were 10 villages where more than 10% of Sivepe informants have consanguineal links: these are places with which relations have always been very close as periodic contact was maintained with all these consanguines; [794] meeting them less than once a year would not be quite right. Today, meetings are much more frequent, as they tend to occur at the Sunday church services.

Section 4: Other Contacts with the Waseta "Tribe"

. . . . While contacts with people from within the Sasembata district are far more frequent than contacts outside it, there are only few families who do not have some kindred, with whom they can trace connection in the patri- or matriline, resident outside the Sasembata district. Considering that this district comprises an area of no more than some 20-25 square miles, such connections will occasion no surprise. I was struck, in fact, by the relatively small number of these connections--a full statistical analysis of the kindreds collected has not yet been completed, so that I cannot give statistics. They were with a relatively small number of villages, almost all from the district Williams marked as belonging to the Waseta tribe. Even the connections with these few villages have special explanations: incidents of warfare explain the present links with the Isivita villages and with Togahou. The links with Soroputa and Agenahambo are explained by the resettlement of these two villages which previously were situated much closer to Sivepe--their land actually adjoins Sivepe land. The close link with Awala (three miles from Sivepe) also has a special explanation beyond [438] common clanship: Sivepe people were dependant upon Awala clay [323] for the manufacture of pottery, an essential commodity until after the second world war. I have listed a few more villages which are "Waseta" but not "Sasembata," such as Waseta, Koropata, Ilimo, but these are mentioned only once or twice.

A [See Cat. 116, p. 214--Analyst]